Conférence de se prononcer sur ces propositions et sur tout autre sujet relevant de son domaine.

Comité Technique 1 - Composition et Procédure.

Fonctions: Elaborer pour la Charte des Nations Unies des projets de dispositions relativement aux sujets traités au Chapitre V des Propositions de Dumbarton Oaks sur la composition et la procédure (Sections A, C, D et les paragraphes pertinents de la Section B), y compris les commentaires et suggestions s'y rapportant soumis par les Gouvernements participant à la Conférence, et recommander ces projets à la Commission II.

Comité Technique 2 - Fonctions politiques et de Sécurité

Fonctions: Elaborer pour la Charte des Nations Unies des projets de dispositions relativement aux sujets traités au Chapitre V des Propositions de Dumbarton Oaks sur les questions de fonctions politiques et de sécurité (particulièrement dans la Section B), y compris les commentaires et suggestions s'y rapportant soumis par les Gouvernements participant à la Conférence, et recommander ces projets à la Commission II.

Comité Technique 3 - Coopération Economique et Sociale

Fonctions: Elaborer pour la Charte des Nations Unies des projets de dispositions relativement aux affaires traitées aux paragraphes pertinents du Chapitre V ainsi qu'au Chapitre IX des Propositions de Dumbarton Oaks, y compris les commentaires et suggestions s'y rapportant soumis par

to develop draft provisions for submission to the Commission to which it reports.

3. All Delegations shall be entitled to be represented on each Commission and on each of their Technical Committees, and to participate in their deliberations.

4. The four Commissions, their Technical Committees, and the scope of their activities, shall be as described below. The Commissions shall be free to make their own rules, including changes which might be desirable in the number and the work of the Technical Committees, and there shall be no restriction on the scope of their discussions. The Steering Committee may from time to time assign duties to the Commissions in addition to those mentioned.

COMMISSION I - General Provisions

Functions: To consider and recommend Conference action upon draft proposals submitted to it by its Technical Committees and upon other matters relating to its field.

Technical Committee 1 - Preamble, Purposes and Principles

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission I draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapters I and II of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 2 - Membership, Amendment and Secretariat

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission I draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapters III, IV, X and XI of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

COMMISSION II - General Assembly

Functions: To consider and recommend Conference action upon draft proposals submitted to it by its Technical Committees and upon other matters relating to its field.

Technical Committee 1 - Structure and Procedures

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission II draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations

relating to matters dealt with in Chapter V of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals on structure and procedures (Sections A, C, D and the pertinent paragraphs of Section B), and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 2 - Political and Security Functions

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission II draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter V of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals on political and security functions (especially Section B), and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 3 - Economic and Social Cooperation

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission II draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in the pertinent paragraphs of Chapter V and in Chapter IX of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 4 - Trusteeship System

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission II, and to Commission III as necessary, draft provisions on principles and mechanism of a system of international trusteeship for such dependent territories as may by subsequent agreement be placed thereunder.

COMMISSION III - Security Council

Functions: To consider and recommend Conference action upon draft proposals submitted to it by its Technical Committees and upon other matters relating to its field.

Technical Committee 1 - Structure and Procedures

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission III draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VI of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals on structure and procedures (Sections A, C, D and the pertinent paragraphs of Section B), and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 2 - Peaceful Settlement

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission III draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VIII, Section A, of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 3 - Enforcement Arrangements

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission III draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VIII, Section B, and Chapter XII, of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 4 - Regional Arrangements

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission III draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VIII, Section C, of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

COMMISSION IV - Judicial Organization

Functions: To consider and recommend Conference action upon draft proposals submitted to it by its Technical Committees and upon other matters relating to its field.

Technical Committee 1 - International Court of Justice

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission IV draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in Chapter VII, of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, and to the comments and suggestions relevant thereto submitted by the Governments participating in the Conference.

Technical Committee 2 - Legal Problems

Functions: To prepare and recommend to Commission IV draft provisions for the Charter of The United Nations relating to matters dealt with in connection with the functioning of the United Nations Organization, such as registration of treaties, treaty obligations inconsistent with the Charter, the juridical status of the Organization, and privileges and immunities of officials of the Organization.

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The United Nations Conference onI nternational Organization

Doc.42 (FRENCH)
P/10 (a)
5 Mai, 1945

PLENARY

ORGANISATION DE LA CONFERENCE

Ce rapport, présenté par le Président de la Délégation de Cuba, Rapporteur du Comité de Direction, a été approuvé à la Cinqième Séance Plénière, le Lundi 30 Avril, 1945.

I. PRESIDENTS DE LA CONFERENCE

Il y aura quatre Présidents qui présiderent, à tour de rôle, aux Séances Plénières. Ces quatre Présidents pourrent se réunir, de temps à autre, sous la présidence de M. Stettinius, qui sera Président du Comité Exécutif et du Comité de Direction, les trois autres Présidents déléguant à M. Stettinius pleins pouvoirs pour assurer la bonne marche des travaux de la Conférence.

II. COMITES GENERAUX

Les Comités généraux suivants serent

créés:

1. Le Comité de Direction composé des Présidents de toutes les Délégations. M. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. sera le Président de ce Comité qui désignera son propre rapporteur. Ce Comité délibérera sur toute question importante d'orientation générale ou de procédure qui lui serait soumise pendant la Conférence par les Présidents de la Conférence ou par les chefs des Délégations.

2. Le Comité Exécutif qui sera composé des Présidents des Délégations des Gouvernements à l'invitation desquels se tient la Conférence, à savoir la Chine, l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques Socialistes, le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, et des Chefs de Délégation de dix autres

Gouvernements, à savoir l'Australie, le Brésil, le Canada, le Chili, la Tchécoslovaquie, la France, l'Iran, le Mexique, les Pays-Bas et la Yougoslavie. Le Président du Comité de Direction exercera aussi la présidence du Comité Exécutif. Le Comité Exécutif soumettra des recommandations à l'examen du Comité de Direction et l'assistera de toute autre façon autorisée par ce dernier Comité. Lorsque le Comité Exécutif discutera des questions relatives aux travaux d'une Commission il invitera le Président de la Commission dont il s'agit à assister à la discussion

3. Le Comité de Coordination, composé de quatorze membres, chacun desquels sera le représentant d'un membre du Comité Exécutif. Le Comité de Coordination assistera le Comité Exécutif dans l'accomplissement de ses fonctions.

4. Le Comité de Vérification des Pouvoirs, qui sera composé de six membres nommés par les Chefs des Délégations suivantes: Equateur, Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Arabie Saoudite, Syrie et Yougoslavie. Le représentant du Luxembourg exercera la présidence. Le Comité vérifiera les Pouvoirs des Délégués et rendra compte à la Conférence en Séance Plénière.

III. COMMISSIONS ET COMITES TECHNIQUES

1. La Conférence sera divisée en quatre Commissions. Chacune d'elles aura un Président et un Rapporteur nommés par le Comité de Direction et approuvés par la Conférence en Séance Plénière. Quatre Secrétaires Généraux Adjoints de la Conférence, nommés de la même manière, exerceront chacun les

fonctions de Secretaire Général d'une Commission. Chaque Commission élaborera des directives générales à l'intention de ses Comités Technique et Sous-Comités, étudiera les recommandations de ses Comités Techniques et la relation entre ces recommandations et celles présentées par des Comités Techniques d'autres Commissions, et recommandera à la Conférence en Séance Plénière les textes proposés pour adoption comme partie intégrante de la Charte.

2. Chaque Commission disposera de Comités Techniques qui formuleront des recommandations portant sur les diverses parties de l'Ordre du Jour qui lui sont assignées. Les Présidents et les Rapporteurs des Comités Techniques seront nommés par le Comité de Direction et approuvés par la Conférence en Séance Plénière. Les Comités Techniques pourront former tout Comité de Rédaction ou autres Sous-Comités qu'ils estimeront nécessaires. Chaque Comité Technique assurera la discussion et l'examen du point de vue technique nécessaires à l'élaboration des projets de dispositions à soumettre à la Commission dont il dépend.

3. Chaque Délégation aura le droit d'être représentée au sein de chaque Commission et de chacun de ses Comités Techniques, et de prendre part à leurs délibérations.

4. Les quatre Commissions, leurs Comités Techniques, le champ de leurs activités, sont indiqués ci-dessous. Les Commissions auront la latitude d'établir leurs propres règlements, y compris la modification du nombre et des

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attributions des Comités Techniques, et il n'y aura pas de restrictions au champs de leurs délibérations. Le Comité de Direction pourra, de temps à autre, assigner des travaux aux Commissions en supplément de ceux qui sont mentionnés.

COMMISSION I. Dispositions générales.

Fonctions: Etudier les projets de propositions qui lui seront soumis par ses Comités Techniques et recommander à la Conférence de se prononcer sur ces propositions et sur tout autre sujet relevant de son domaine.

Comité Technique 1 - Préambule, Buts et Principes

Fonctions: Elaborer pour la Charte des Nations Unies des projets de dispositions relativement aux sujets traités aux Chapitres I et II des Propositions de Dumbarton Oaks, y compris les commentaires et suggestions s'y rapportant soumis par les Gouvernements participant à la Conférence et recommander ces projets à la Commission I.

Comité Technique 2 - Membres, Amendements et Secretariat

Fonctions: Elaborer pour la Charte des Nations Unies des projets de dispositions relativement aux sujets traités aux Chapitres III, IV, X et XI, des Propositions de Dumbarton Oaks, y compris les commentaires et les suggestions s'y rapportant soumis par les Gouvernements participant à la Conférence, et recommander ces projets à la Commission I.

COMMISSION II - Assemblée Générale

Fonctions: Etudier les projets de propositions qui lui seront soumis par ses Comités Techniques et recommander à la

les Gouvernements participant à la Conférence, et recommander ces projets à la Commission II.

Comité Technique 4 - Trusteeship

Fonctions: Elaborer des projets de dispositions se rapportant aux principes et au mécanisme d'un système de Trusteeship international pour les territoires non-autonomes qui seraient, après accord ultérieur, placés sous cette administration, et recommander ces projets à la Commission II et, s'il y a lieu, à la Commission III.

COMMISSION III - Conseil de Sécurité

Fonctions: Etudier les projets de propositions qui lui seront soumis par ses Comités Techniques, et recommander à la Conférence de se prononcer sur ces propositions et sur tout autre sujet relevant de son domaine.

Comité Technique 1 - Composition et procédure

Fonctions: Elaborer pour la Charte des Nations Unies des projets de dispositions relativement aux affaires traitées au Chapitre VI des Propositions de Dumbarton Oaks sur la composition et la procédure (Sections A, C, D et les Paragraphes pertinents de la Section B), y compris les commentaires et suggestions s'y rapportant soumis par les Gouvernements participant à la Conférence, et recommander ces projets à la Commission III.

Comité Technique 2 - Règlement pacifique des différends

Fonctions: Elaborer pour la Charte des Nations Unies

The United Nations Conference on International Organization

Doc. 46 (English)
P/11
May 1, 1945

PLENARY

AGENDA FOR THE SIXTH PLENARY SESSION

Tuesday, May 1, 1945, 3:30 P.M.

(1) Report of the Committee on Credentials

(2) Statements by chairmen of the delegations who have indicated a desire to speak to the Conference

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The United Nations Conference on International Organization

Doc. 46 (FRENCH)
P/11
May 1, 1945

PLENARY

ORDRE DU JOUR DE LA SIXIEME SEANCE PLENIERE

le 1er Mai, 1945 à 15 h. 30

(1) Rapport du Comité de Vérification des Pouvoirs

(2) Allocutions des Présidents des Délégations qui ont indiqué leur désir d'adresser la Conférence

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The United Nations Confere
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Doc. 55 (English)
P/13
May 2, 1945

E SIXTH PLENARY SESSION

1, 1945, 3:35 p.m.
ius presiding

MR. STETTINIUS: Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Sixth Plenary Session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization is hereby convened.

Our first business of today is the report from the Committee on Credentials. The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Delegation of Luxembourg, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

MR. JOSEPH BECH: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: This report dated April 28, 1945, does not take into consideration the countries to which invitations have been extended subsequent to that date. The Committee appointed in accordance with the provisional regulations of the United Nations Conference on International Organization to examine the credentials of its participants met on April 28, 1945, at 10 a.m. The Committee consisted of the representatives of the Delegations of Luxembourg, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yugoslavia.

The credentials of the representatives of the following 46 Governments to participate in this Conference were examined and found to be in order: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Commonwealth, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The Committee recommends to the Conference the acceptance of these credentials and the accordance to these representatives of the full right of participation in the Conference.

The Committee has found that full powers for the signature of the final documents of the Conference have now been received from the following 30 governments: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The Committee calls the attention of the governments whose full powers have not yet been deposited to the

necessity of submitting these powers to the Secretary General as soon as possible.

MR. STETTINIUS: Thank you, Dr. Bech.

Does any delegate wish to comment upon the report which has just been read?

In the absence of objection the Chair rules that the report of the Committee on Credentials is accepted and approved.

I thank you, Sir.

I now call upon Dr. Guillermo Belt, the Rapporteur of the Steering Committee, to report on this morning's proceedings of the Steering Committee. Dr. Belt.

DR. BELT: Allocation of commission and committee officerships:

Chairman of the Credentials Committee: Luxembourg
Rapporteur of the Steering Committee: Cuba

Commissions:

General Provisions

President: Belgium
Rapporteur: Philippine Commonwealth
Assistant Secretary General: Lebanon

General Assembly

President: South Africa
Rapporteur: Panama
Assistant Secretary General: Liberia

Security Council

President: Norway
Rapporteur: Paraguay
Assistant Secretary General: Honduras

Judicial Organization

President: Venezuela
Assistant Secretary General: Ethiopia

Committees:

Preamble, Purposes, and Principles

Chairman: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
Rapporteur: Syria

(Committees--continued):

Structure and Procedures

Chairman: Turkey
Rapporteur: White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic

Structure and Procedures

Chairman: Greece
Rapporteur: El Salvador

International Court

Chairman: Peru
Rapporteur: Iraq

Membership and General

Chairman: Costa Rica
Rapporteur: Haiti (on membership)
Saudi Arabia (on general)

Political and Security Functions

Chairman: Bolivia
Rapporteur: Dominican Republic

Peaceful Settlement

Chairman: Uruguay
Rapporteur: Soviet Union

Legal Problems

Chairman: Egypt
Rapporteur: Nicaragua

Economic and Social Cooperation

Chairman: India
Rapporteur: Guatemala

Enforcement Arrangements

Chairman: Ecuador
Rapporteur: France

Trusteeship System

Chairman: New Zealand
Rapporteur: Luxembourg

(Committees--continued):

Regional Arrangements

Chairman: Colombia
Rapporteur: China

MR. STETTINIUS: Does any delegate wish to comment on the report Dr. Belt has just read from the Steering Committee this morning? If there is no objection, the report stands approved as read.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our next order of business is to continue with the statements of the chairmen of delegations. In accordance with special action taken at the meeting of the heads of delegations yesterday and announced at the Fifth Plenary Session, the Chair now recognizes the Prime Minister and the Chairman of the Delegation of the Union of South Africa.

FIELD MARSHAL SMUTS: Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: Let me follow the example of other leaders of delegations who have spoken before me, and begin by expressing the warm thanks of my South African colleagues and myself for the invitation of the Government of the United States and the other sponsoring governments, to this Conference. It is our most earnest wish that this Conference may be successful, and provide a land mark in the progress of international relations and for cooperation among the nations toward world peace and security. Thus may San Francisco add to its other glories the greater glory of becoming another milestone in the long march of man to a better future.

Also, like other speakers, I recognize that we meet under the shadow of a shattering loss--the loss of that great leader who called us together. But in a very real sense, he is not gone from us. His immense personality and spirit brood over this land and over the human causes for which he worked. His soul goes marching on as an inspiration to us to continue on the road on which he set us. We owe it to his memory and to his immortal service to the world to make the success of this Conference a worthy monument to his name. As one great American president was the brave pioneer of the Covenant, so may the Charter of the New World Organization be successfully launched under the auspices of another. Of both of them it may be truly said that they gave everything, even their lives, for the great human cause around which we are now gathered at this Conference.

For there can be no doubt any more that for us, for the human race, the hour has struck. Mankind has

arrived at the crisis of its fate, the fate of its future as a civilized world. Even military victory, measureless victory, now crowning our war effort in Europe, is not enough. It must be only the prelude to the greater peace effort before us, which must complete and finalize the present struggle for a free world.

That is what we are aiming at here. This is the inner significance of this great San Francisco Conference.

For a generation now history has been working up to a veritable climax of war, of destructive violence, which now threatens the very foundations of our human future. Two world wars have been fought with ever-increasing destructiveness, until now the ancient homelands and continent of our western civilization are a desolation and a ruin unparalleled in history. Science--the inventive genius of our race--is putting ever new and greater and more terrible resources at the disposal of war.

A third world war may well prove beyond the limits of what civilized society can endure, perhaps even beyond the limits of our continued existence as a human world. It is for us to prevent this monstrous possibility and to make it a moral impossibility. That is the high purpose for which we are gathered here. We the peacemakers, we the peace-builders, dare not disappoint the hopes and prayers of a whole suffering world, centered on us here. Both the past and the future appeal to us. We dare not fail after what the valor of our millions of heroes has achieved. Let us see to it that their devotion and sacrifices and those of many more millions of the civilian populations, are not once more in vain.

Let us see to it that so far as in us lies, we shall call a halt to this pilgrimage of death, this march to suicide of our race--a march in which the innocent suffer far more than the guilty.

I speak here today, Mr. President, as one of the few still surviving from the last Peace Conference at Paris 26 years ago. My mind goes even further back, to the poignant memories of the South African war 46 years ago when, as a young man, I first learnt to know what war means for a small people and all it holds dear. From all this experience sprang my deep interest in the League of Nations and in the Covenant which we made at Paris for keeping the peace in future among the nations great and small.

It was a great and noble effort, much in advance of anything that had been done or even attempted before.

Today it is the fashion to belittle or even sneer at the League of Nations. But in its day it registered a real and great advance, and those who either in this country or elsewhere labored in that noble cause have nothing to regret or apologize for.

Alas, the Covenant proved only a milestone. This new Charter of the United Nations may also prove to be no more than a milestone. We pray that it may have a greater significance, but it may be that we shall in due course travel even beyond this milestone and have to erect further beacons on the road toward world peace, until ultimately the distant frontiers are reached of that new, that never world, where war among the nations will be only a dim far-off memory of the race.

The League did prove a striking success in all its varied humanitarian activities, and much of what it did in that fruitful field of human service is of permanent value and can only be followed up and carried further forward by this new organization.

It failed, and failed badly only in one respect, but that the most important of all. It did not prevent war; it did not prevent lawless aggression, which has finally reached its climax in this most terrible of world wars. It is therefore here that our new task begins. And it may be useful if from this point of view we compare for a moment the differences in fundamental structure between the Covenant of the League and the Charter prepared at Dumbarton Oaks.

Of course the two documents emerge from two different worlds. A far-reaching revolution has been taking place since 1919, and it is still going on. No one foresaw or could have foreseen, at the last Peace Conference, the great political changes which have come over the world and world affairs in the years since. We planned for the world we knew, and as we saw it, and we planned in a justifiable spirit of optimism. Nobody, for instance, expected that the United States would refuse to enter the League of Nations and allow it to drift on the rocks in the dangerous post-war seas, as in the absence of the United States it was bound to do.

Nobody foresaw the rise of the vast ideologies which have since rocked our world on its foundations. Nobody realized the vast dangers of the future, even of the near future. We lived and thought in a political world and did not foresee the economic and social upheavals which were to

change the very basis of our society. There were great men in those days, but they were not great prophets and certainly not demi-gods. Today we see some of the dangers ahead far more clearly. We now see that measures of conciliation and appeasement are not enough, that war has to be prevented at all costs, even at the cost of war itself, if necessary. The Covenant did not undertake to prevent war at all costs but merely to create measures of delay and attempts at arbitration and negotiation and conciliation and finally to invoke economic sanctions to frighten off the aggressors.

The Dumbarton Oaks Charter, on the other hand, realistically recognizes that war must be prevented at the start, and that no half measures to that end will suffice. That being so, it also recognizes in the same spirit of realism, that a new responsibility for peace must be placed on the great powers. They have the power, and must in the first place bear the responsibility for using that power to prevent war. No doubt this enhances their importance and functions, vis-a-vis the smaller powers; but this disparity in function follows almost as a logical result from the new burden for peace imposed on them. Yalta has added the further corollary of unanimity among them to this special function for peace imposed on them. There is thus, the further obligation of unity of decision and action placed on them; in action, in enforcement measures for preventing war they must be unanimous and act, or not act, together. This may be only a temporary and passing phase, and it may in time become unnecessary to make such drastic provision for keeping the great powers together. The habit of cooperation among them may be expected to create trust and dispel suspicion between them. But who, with knowledge of the divisions of the last quarter of a century, and their dire results, and with thought of the possibilities of mischief in the years before us, will venture to say that such drastic provision for unity is not necessary today? We know that unanimity is at present insisted on, and moreover, the right of unanimity now asked may come to operate as a duty to unanimity, and thus tend to keep together the great powers, whose falling out among each other would in any case be the greatest danger and menace to world peace in future. I am not an apologist for Yalta, but knowing what the abstention of the United States has meant for the failure of the League of Nations, and knowing that similar abstention or lack disagreements among the great powers may mean in the future failure of the World Organization, I cannot say that the Yalta recommendation is too heavy a price to pay for the new attempt to eliminate international war from our human affairs.

I am not at present discussing the Yalta resolution but merely pointing out its relation to the new set-up under the Charter compared with that of the Covenant. The Charter, unlike the Covenant, in prohibiting all international war and thus involving enforcement action to prevent it, creates a special position for the great powers calling also for special voting relations between them, which were not necessary under the Covenant.

This unequivocal prohibition of war, and this recognition of the special position of the great powers resulting therefrom, are the two major departures of the Charter from the League Covenant. There is a third difference - one of omission and not of provision in the Covenant. It is no less far-reaching than the other two, perhaps even more so. It refers to the economic and social set-up in the Charter which has nothing corresponding in the Covenant.

I have already referred to the unforeseen economic and social developments of the post-war world since the last peace. They must profoundly influence our views as to the future course of events and its possible repercussions on the peace of the world. The framers o the last peace lived, as I have said, in a political world and were dominated by a political outlook and point of view. They thought political solutions would suffice. No wonder that their plans were upset by the catastrophic economic developments which disrupted national and world economics in the era between the two wars. The chaos of currencies, exchanges, and tariffs, and all the strange and curious devices intended to cope with them, are too well-known to everyone to call for more than mere mention. Their disastrous economic and social consequences are no less well-known. Together with the new ideologies, resurrected from the past and from the Nazi underworld, they contributed in large measure to the crisis which produced the war. It soon became evident that the economic chaos and the social unrest and suffering resulting from it were no less fruitful sources of war than the ordinary forms of aggression so familiar to the political world. To these were added the new forms of propaganda through radio, infiltration, fifth column and secret sabotage, and similar innovations. In some respects aggression was becoming more psychological than physical, more insidious and dangerous, and much more difficult to cope with along the old political lines. The whole technique of aggression and attack was largely transformed, and came to by-pass the accepted procedures known to international law and relations. The confusion was extreme, and the results specially disastrous to

the peace-loving peoples. These results have been among the most potent causes of the present war. As a consequence, the new Charter, in dealing with and coping with the prevention of war, will provide means and methods for the control of these new forces which have entered the international field; and the proposed new Economic and Social Council will thus, from this and other points of view, become one of the most important organs of the New World Organization. In close cooperation with the other agencies set up in the economic field, such as the existing I.L.O., the Monetary Fund, the International Bank, the Food and Agricultural Council, and other bodies which are certain to be created, this new Council will enable the United Nations to have a far firmer grip of the new forces and conditions and techniques leading to social and economic unrest and subversion than the League of Nations ever had. The social and economic causes of war may thus come to be controlled at the source, so to say.

May I, in conclusion, add one more point in reference to the general aspects of the Charter, as compared with the Covenant. The new Charter should not be a mere legalistic document for the prevention of war. I would suggest that the Charter should contain at its very outset and in its preamble, a declaration of human rights and of the common faith which has sustained the Allied peoples in their bitter and prolonged struggle for the vindication of those rights and that faith. This war has not been an ordinary war of the old type. It has been a war of ideologies, of conflicting philosophies of life and conflicting faiths. In the deepest sense it has been a war of religion perhaps more so than any other war of history. We have fought for justice and decency and for the fundamental freedoms and rights of man, which are basic to all human advancement and progress and peace. Let us, in this new Charter of humanity, give expression to this faith in us, and thus proclaim to the world and to posterity, that this was not a mere brute struggle of force between the nations but that for us, behind the mortal struggle, was the moral struggle, was the vision of the ideal, the faith in justice and the resolve to vindicate the fundamental rights of man, and or that basis to found a better, freer world for the future. Never have all peace-loving peoples been so deeply moved. This is what our men and women feel they are fighting for on the war fronts, and have been laboring and slaving for on the home fronts in these long years of steadfast endurance. Let us put it into the Charter of the United Nations as our confession of faith and our testimony to the future. Our warfare has been for the eternal values which sustain the spirit of man

foe. They could not vanquish the fear of responsibility on the part of the League or overcome its predilection for ad hoc organs created both within and without the League to absorb and stifle the urgent demands of a desperately wounded victim of aggression. Ethiopia was thus overwhelmed by a vastly superior foe and abandoned by the League of Nations, notwithstanding the insistent voice of a unanimous world public opinion.

No longer will victims of aggression find support or solace in resolutions of condemnation or of sympathy, nor should it now be possible by procedures adapted to a requirement of unanimity, to escape the responsibility for decision and for action that must be faced by all states desirous of maintaining collective peace and security. All nations here represented must insure that the future Organization and, in particular, the Security Council, be enabled and be compelled to vote not resolutions or recommendations but decisions, decisions not only of principle but decisions for immediate action for insuring the maintenance of peace pending solution of the problems to be faced. The Security Council should be enabled to vote its decisions promptly without possibility of obstruction and delays on the part of those whose interest it may be to gain by time what cannot be achieved by consent.

The peace-loving nations of the world must not be called upon again as was Ethiopia to submit to what has been rightly called a "spoliation by procedure".

The great powers at Dumbarton Oaks have chosen to confer on the new Organization--and, in particular, on the Security Council--the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and to provide that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act in behalf of all the members. However, in conferring so heavy a responsibility on their behalf, the member nations must have the positive assurance not only that the Council can effectively reach and implement decisions with regard to both parties to the dispute but also that once seised of a dispute the Council will retain the direct and continuous responsibility of assuring a prompt solution.

It cannot again be tolerated that during a period of actual aggression, the Council should relegate the determination of vital problems to subordinate or extraneous commissions of investigation or conciliation, or that the orderly procedure of the security organization be